Masculinity and Algeria's Struggle for Independence

Assia Djebar's novel, *Children of the New World*, is about the experiences of young men and women during the Algerian Revolution and is compelling not only because of the themes of revolution, alienation and brutalities of colonialism, but because of its focus on gender conflicts between men and women. Numerous female characters in Djebar's novel challenge their husbands and their concerns are ignored or pushed to the sidelines. In reality, women participated in the war for Algeria's independence from France, which lasted from 1954 to 1962. At the same time, these women clashed with male nationalists. Adding to this, female voices were alienated or excluded from the nationalist revolution, causing androcentric voices to win out as women continued to be repressed in Algeria. Despite the fact that Algeria was officially independent from France in 1962, generally the status of women didn't improve. In this historical context, Djebar's novel, *Children of the World*, serves as a perfect example of women's struggle during during the Algerian Revolution.

Djebar's book is good way to introduce the reader to the subject of Algerian independence. There are two major groups of characters: the anti-colonial resistance in the mountains and in the city, and the authorities. The authorities are Hakim, Martinez and Jean, who work for the police, Bob, a French soldier, and Taleb, a prison guard. By the end of the book, the anti-colonial resistance in the mountains and in the city includes seven characters: Youssef, Mahmoud, Ali, Hassiba, Tawfik, Lila and Suzanne. Despite the divisions of people into numerous groups, all of them compromise “the town's network” (Djebar, 197). The interconnection between the characters means that all of them are related to the violent anti-colonial resistance to some degree. The authorities crack down on this “network” and by the end of the book, three people has been arrested, Lila, Saidi and Salima, all while the authorities have files on certain individuals in the town (Djebar, 195). In the end, Assia Djebar's book sheds light on the Algerian revolution by portraying it in ways that allow a reader to understand the viewpoints of males and females of Arabic and European origin who are affected by the Algerian Revolution.

Before examining how women in Algeria clashed with male nationalists during the struggle of independence and after, it is important to recognize the historical context. In 1830, Algeria, which has previously been ruled by Hussein Dey of the Ottoman Regency of Algiers, was invaded and occupied by the French colonialists. Some have argued that invasions like these are just manifestations of "material forms of militarism" (Burke 1998). This invasion not only had far-reaching consequences for women and gender relations in Algeria, but it led to the creation of a nationalist discourse (Mehdid, 79). These consequences occurred, in part, because the French indirectly ruled in Algeria, which "shaped the nature and degree of knowledge on women" (Clancy-Smith, 100). At the same time, the nationalist discourse that was created was gendered, but specifically was masculine, articulated by patriarchs like Emir Abdlekader and Messali El Hadj, as it had a "strong emphasis...on the need to protect the 'Arabo-Islamic' family," a family in which females had a traditional, domestic role (Mehdid, 79). This was in contrast to other nationalist movements in states such as Turkey, Iran and Egypt, which saw women's emancipation as one of the main ways to modernize their states (Mehdid, 79).

In Algeria, as colonization progressed, the French colonizers developed a certain gendered framework. Within this framework, European men and women were perceived to be from a "superior civilization" while indigenous women were not only objectified by colonial practices but they "felt the colonial burden most intensely due to the length and intensity of the French occupation" (Lorgin, 69-70). Such a framework was only part of the colonial discourses concerning Islam which asserted that the religion was oppressive, and that "women needed to be freed from the shackles of Islam" through unveiling (Davies, 396-7). In Algeria, this discourse came on full force. The French were bent on "unveiling Algeria," as some have called it, and rigidly separating the sexes (Ahmed, 164). They saw it as part of France's "civilizing mission" in Algeria (Enloe, 52). Eventually, these moves would lead to the veil becoming a "symbol of national resistance," while unveiling, for many Algerian women did not rest on revolutionary doctrine (Helie-Lucas, 32; Cherifati-Merabtine, 48). At the same time, this

unveiling was in and of itself gendered. This is because, for the French, “conquering the Algerian women [became]....equal to conquering Algeria, the land, and people themselves,” an approach rooted in a push to make women an “object of possession” by men (Yegenoglu, 40, 62). This meant that there was a “unique situation for native women” since the “colonization of land and culture in Algeria was strategically entangled on the body of women” themselves (Yegenoglu, 65).

With the push for an “unveiling” of women, and a new gendered framework, there was the creation of a “classic colonial state and society” where the French were engaging in imperialism, or the “policies and practices allowing one state to impose domination over another state or group of people through organized violence” (Clancy-Smith, 101). This violence manifested itself in nearly fifty years of “brutal warfare waged against the Muslim population by the French army,” colonial officials lobbying against state-backed instruction of women in Algeria, working to deny Algerians “the most basic rights” which not surprisingly led to the creation of a national “collective identity” among Algerians (Clancy-Smith, 111-2). The French however, must have realized that nationalism was growing because they advocated for “selected reforms designed to westernize women in order to weaken ties to nationalists” in Algeria (Bowen, 208).

This approach, to some degree, worked because in 1958, Algerians who were French citizens believed that women's social rights could be advanced more effectively by the French state than by male nationalists (Wadowiec, 649). This view is not completely unfounded. In Djebar's book, four of the female characters stand up to their husbands and their concerns and interests are often pushed aside by men (Djebar, 11, 24, 39, 50, 79-80, 107). Many times, as Djebar shows, men tried to force their authority and dominance over women, a physical embodiment of patriarchal power. The most extreme example is the police officer, Hakim, who is drunk and pushes his wife, Amna, and then punches her “with a blow right to her engorged chest [which] causes her to topple onto the mattress” (Djebar, 124-6). Back to the colonial era, there was also a broader change with French control in Algeria. With the

French colonial occupation, women and men's lives were changed as “people's names had to be transcribed into Latin script” while individuals were “given a new religious status as “Muslim natives” and women as “Fatimas,” which created a “historical injustice” (Lazreg, 3).

This wasn't all the French colonialists did. Their invasion and occupation of Algeria was deemed as an “irreverent act” by many Algerians possibly because they turned mosques into “stables and arms depots” with lands entrusted by these mosques were seized and declared the “property of the French state” (Lazreg, 51). At the same time, there wasn't outright armed struggle, possibly because Algerians “experienced a sense of disorientation, disarray and disorder” with the occupation of their country by the Christian French colonialists. In Djebar's book there is a similar level of “disarray and disorder” as there is a state of fear caused by the war with terrified children and people tired of the never-ending war. In the days of French colonialism, the colonial rulers blamed the widespread nature of prostitution on natives already living in the country and declared it morally wrong, even though colonialism “contributed to a flourishing, if not encouraging, of...prostitution” (Lazreg, 56-58). At the time, Algerian proto-nationalist Emir Khaled denounced the French colonial rulers for this practice, saying that “the fallacy of protecting individual liberties has been used as a pretext for a complete relaxation of our mores. Prostitutes...move freely on our streets under the indifferent eye of policemen and vice squads” (Lazreg, 58-59). Prostitution was later used as an issue by nationalists who did not approve of “daughters of notable Algerian men” being kidnapped, which they said was condoned by the French rulers, and they revealed that women were often sent to “whorehouses for failing to produce a proof of their identity” (Lazreg, 59). Despite this concern, native men were “implicated in the prostitution of women” all while the traffic of women “was a daily reality that gave the colonial administration a powerful tool of social control of the indigenous society” (Lazreg, 59). While prostitution had existed under the previous Ottoman state, the French used this as part of a “system of social coercion” that targeted those families who didn't agree with their colonial rule (Lazreg, 55).

Prostitution was not the only thing that the French colonialists did that changed gender relations in Algeria. The French rulers favored “selective education for boys rather than girls” since they simply did not “believe in educating native girls,” meaning that more boys went to school than girls and that women had little choice but to embrace their role as domestics (Lazreg, 62, 66-7). By 1954, the long history of “domination and control by outside forces” with indigenous resistance “in sporadic or organized forms” had come to a climax (Mehdid, 78). Still, this history of domination was changed drastically, when colonialism, created “the conditions of possibility of the ideologization of women by colonists and colonized alike” and helped to unify “men's attitudes toward women” (Lazreg, 2).

Feminist scholar Cynthia Enloe's writing about women's participation in nationalist movements is a good place to start examining the participation of Algerian women in their struggle for independence from the French. Enloe argues that women are treated “more as symbols than as active participants by nationalist movements,” that these movement rarely see women's experiences as a starting point for understanding “how a people becomes colonized,” how it discards the shackles of domination or is a part of nationalist discourse (Enloe, 42, 44, 46). Enloe also argues that within nationalist movements, women may have a hard time raising issues such as domestic violence and spousal abuse, that male privilege becomes entrenched as a nationalist movement become militarized, and that many of the policy-making roles in the movement are occupied by men, ensuring that they will gain high authority at a later time, while women stay stuck in a domestic role (Enloe, 56, 63).

The creation of Algeria as a modern nation state was based in gendered nationalism. As Bahraini professor Malika Mehdid points out, the “painful birth of the modern nation state is...rooted in a historical process...marked by a masculinist sense of popular consciousness” with Western hegemony “equated with maleness” and the land, culture and community that has been conquered considered as feminized (Mehdid, 80). The “painful birth” that Mehdid writes about is clearly obvious: there was a bloody war of liberation fought between 1954 and 1962 that resulted in the deaths of over 1 million

people (Barraclough, 138; Turshen, 891). However, some have argued that the Algerian "war against French rule" was forced (Woddis, 32, 42). Whether that is true, it is clear that in Algeria, colonialism served as a "fertile ground for nationalist ideas because it gives an otherwise divided people...a potent shared experience of foreign domination," just as Enloe argued was the case with colonialism in general (Enloe, 45). After all, as Afro-French philosopher Frantz Fanon wrote, in the Algerian colonial regime, ideas that are taught by colonialism impacted the European minority and Algerians alike (Fanon, 233).

The beginning of the struggle in Algeria is connected to a major theme in Djebar's book: themes is the embodiment of revolution by those in French-controlled Algeria. In a hopeful way, one character, Hassiba, expresses to Youssef that "the revolution is the whole country's battle against colonialism, and colonialism is France, which doesn't want to recognize our rights...[the] French...had a revolution. Now it's our turn" (Djebar, 149). Khaled is more cynical, saying that "now a tremendous challenge begins and will go on, but at the price of enormous slaughter!" and that the "the prisons will never be full enough" (Djebar, 155).

In the nationalist struggle for independence from French colonialists, it is clear that Algerian women had a clear and noticeable role. Numerous scholars have acknowledged this fact (White, 2; Kauss, 75; Bowen, 208; Turshen, 889). Even Algerian women participated in planting bombs in places frequented by Europeans, sometimes by disguising as well-to-do European-looking women (Lilley 2012). The planting of bombs by such women is not very surprising because numerous Algerian women such as "Zorah Driff, Djamila Boupacha, Djamila Bouherid, and Hassiba Ben Bouli participated in anti-colonial resistance" (Kuppinger, 4). Of these women, Boupacha, was arrested, "brutally tortured and raped by French forces," meaning that she became a "symbol of the brutality of French forces" during the war of independence (Kuppinger, 4).

It is important to describe a broader view of involvement by Algerian women in the struggle for

independence. As Marie-Aimee Helie-Lucas pointed out, very few women, after 1962, registered as veterans of the fight for independence because of massive bureaucratic hurdles, and that the definition of a veteran was gendered to benefit males (30). This means that it is impossible to know, from the data available, how many women really participated in the struggle for independence. Despite this, from the data available, which consists of 10,949 registered women, the majority were considered as civilians, engaging in hiding of food, food collection, guiding individuals, collection of food, medicines and ammunition, "terrorists," and nurses (Helie-Lucas, 30-1). A smaller percentage were engaged in military duties which mostly consisted of being cooks, laundresses, and nurses (Helie-Lucas, 31). Such involvement came at a heavy cost to human life, with 20% of women participants being "jailed, tortured or killed," but they did not think about questioning their place (Helie-Lucas, 31). Helie-Lucas argues that the veil becoming a symbol, which muted criticism that the veil could be oppressive since removing its oppression could be associated with French colonists, and conformism within the nationalist movement were reasons that women didn't question their place (32-33). Doria Cherifati-Merabtine uses the same data as Helie-Lucas, but makes different points. She argued that the data shows that there were a large number of armed women combatants participating in the struggle for independence to be false, because many were in civilian roles instead (Cherifati-Merabtine, 51).

It is possible that some women did not question the veil, which Helie-Lucas highlights, because they would feel like they were betraying their own people. This comes up numerous times in Djebar's novel, with a distinct possibility that similar experiences occurred within Algeria during the revolution itself. The best example is when Hakim interrogates his wife and then questions himself: "What's happening to me? Here I am, playing cop with my own wife! Lousy job..." (Djebar, 51). Another example is when Touma openly goes "to the police station to supply them with information" and as a result, her brother, Tawfik, saying she's "betraying the cause" of revolution and a "traitor" (Djebar, 172-3). Eventually, in order to prove his "manliness" and to make the community "trust" him, he shoots and

kills her (Djebar, 178). This example, if connected with what Helie-Lucas and Cherifati-Merabtine write, may show that women were forced to choose a side of "for" or "against" the revolution, with the latter, even if they were a family member, possibly ending in their untimely death.

Despite their role in fighting for independence, women were not accepted within the nationalist movement itself. Frantz Fanon wrote about this, arguing that Algerian women were psychologically transformed by the war for independence, that their "feminine" identities formed by colonized were altered, and he was overly optimistic about the degree to "which women were liberated during the war and how long their liberated status would last" (White, 8). There is no doubt that Fanon was overly optimistic. The reason for this is that "no women occupied a leadership position in the national struggle" which meant that there was an "absence of a women's project" (Cherifati-Merabtine, 50). This is confirmed in the fact that in the discourse of the FLN, one of the biggest resistance groups in the struggle for independence, there was "no specific commitment regarding women" but there was, interestingly enough, a "reappropriation of women's resistance history" for the state that was to follow independence (Cherifati-Merabtine, 50). In Djebar's book, the marginalization of women is a powerful and important theme since male resistance leaders not caring about women's concerns could lead women to self-censor their revolutionary thoughts. One example of this is when Hossiba goes to the mountains with Youssef, and he, at one point, "appears to have forgotten about her completely" and thinks to himself, "she's not doing too badly" which could be taken to mean that males lead the nationalist movement, not women (Djebar, 188).

There was something more within the nationalist movement, which is deeply disturbing: this is the role of the FLN, in regard to Algerian women. This role is not in reference to the approximately 55% of women ages 14-24 who died while part of the struggle for independence (Kauss, 76). Rather, it is reference to the 1955 Sommam Platform, written by Algerian revolutionary groups, made no provision for "women to enjoy any political or military responsibilities in the FLN" meaning that many

women were forced to serve as "nurses, cooks, and laundresses" (Kauss, 75). While it reinforces patriarchal roles, is not what is fundamentally disturbing, rather it is the FLN's role when it comes to marriages. As Peter Kauss notes, since the FLN wrapped itself in "the mantle of Islam," that meant that it was obliged to "regulate male-female relations in ways that were consistent with Islamic principles" (77). While the FLN originally discouraged unmarried women from joining its ranks and it "limited male-female contact," it still served a sort of regulatory body, regulating "marriage and divorce matters of men and women" (Kauss, 78). The result of this was profound: marriage ceased to be an "arrangement between families" and the FLN, in Kauss's words, became "a surrogate patriarchal authority" and its practices were a "regression from traditional practices" (78-9). This is made worse by the fact that these marriages, or marquis, were highly gendered in a negative way since women "nursed, cooked, laundered and cleaned," their "usual" tasks (Kauss, 79). This role echoed their role in the Algerian struggle for independence since they "participated actively as combatants, spies, fundraisers...couriers...nurses, launderers, and cooks" (Turshen, 890).

By 1962, the Algerian war for independence had ended. The "atmosphere of outright war" as Frantz Fanon had called it, was over (199). However, no one can forget that the French colonialists engaged in counter-terrorism and psychological warfare (Fanon, 40). Still, that is being very mild. This is because electroshock and other forms of torture were routinely being used on Algerian liberation fighters by French soldiers in Algeria, which is why many Algerians grew "impatient with French liberals who expressed their moral outrage" over the torture but didn't try to end the colonial occupation (Klein, 49, 156). This impatience also partially explains why many Algerians felt, in Fanon's view, that "colonialism...is naked violence and only gives in when confronted with greater violence" (23). Djebar's book shows the face of this "naked violence" by describing the brutality of the French colonial presence, with actions such as soldiers calling a man a dog, arbitrary mass arrests, police watching people's actions, people killed in war, prisons becoming overfilled, the authorities

torturing and interrogating people, and a peaceful crowd being fired on by police (5-7, 29, 37, 55, 99, 113, 116, 120, 195). The violence in Algeria even reached into the state of France, as disaffected colonial generals attempted a series of coups from 1958 to 1962, and there was “a wave of right-wing bombings by the OAS terrorist group in Paris” (Harman, 557).

Despite the violence after independence, it seemed that Algeria was better than before. After all, there was a new image of a militant woman, with its “construction based on real facts, characterizing the heroines' courage” (Cherifati-Merabtine, 50-1). However, this is painting a rosy picture regarding the difficulties of reconstruction, which included a family code that “set man-woman relationships in a patriarchal mode” while the state's new constitution “established civil rights for women” (Cherifati-Merabtine, 51-2). Other difficulties of reconstruction included the fact the French still retained possession of Saharan oil, even though Algeria was independent, and the CIA supported a military coup in Algeria because they were afraid that Algeria would have a “communist” government (Blum, 138; Yergin, 526-7).

These difficulties were only some of the dilemmas that this new state faced. The negotiations that took place between mostly male nationalists at the end of the struggle for independence caused future problems in Algeria, while there was also a clash between “the modernizing tendencies of the state and the more conservative ideologies” that characterized the state apparatus and discourses (Mehdid, 81). This dualism later lead to a horrible situation for women in Algeria: social structures and gender relations being “upheld and reproduced” by the patriarchal state (Mehdid, 82). Some might say that this is part of a new state patriarchy, or the state determining feminism in Algeria. This might be true since, the Algerian leaders created a discourse that eventually “grew more and more distant from the living experiences of Algerian people” since there was the facade of socialism, when it was really state capitalism, and religion began to be used in a political manner (Helie-Lucas, 33). As a result of these policies which allowed the state to posture as a socialist state, the left was silenced and it took

years for people to speak out (Helie-Lucas, 34).

Others have had a more positive picture than Helie-Lucas. Meredith Turshen argued that in the post-independence period, women "secured citizenship, equal rights to coeducation and health services" (891). Turshen also argues that even though there was a low rate of women's employment in the economy in the post-independence period, she claims that their employment was "buoyed by the wealth of nationalized oil fields" (892).

Whether Turshen or Helie-Lucas is right is still up for debate. What is not debatable is how those in other parts of the world feel about Algeria. As Sherna Berger Gluck writes, women's experience in Algerian state post-independence "has become emblematic of the way in which women's gender interests are subverted, if not completely submerged, following independence" (101). In the height of a Palestinian uprising against the brutal Israeli occupation, women activists echoed this refrain regularly: "We will not be another Algeria!" (Gluck, 101). Despite this refrain, it seems that the changes in consciousness experienced by "grassroots Palestinian women...might have mirrored those of the women in Algeria and elsewhere" (Gluck, 113). Even though this might be true, the cases of Algeria and Palestine are different, since Algeria has very few groups to counter the ideology pushed by groups while Palestine has a strong women's movement (Gluck, 122).

This essay aimed to highlight how masculinity and the power of male nationalists, influenced women's participation in the fight for Algeria's independence. Djebar's book, as this essay shows, helps to explain gender injustice against women before, during and after the struggle for independence. Additionally, this essay not only recognizes that Algerian women were often excluded from leadership roles in the nationalist movement and that their interests were ignored, but it opens up a new scholarship and research on this topic. Hopefully, there can be scholarship exploring Fanon's connection of capitalism and colonialism with a gendered focus. In the end, lest us remember that colonization is "simply a power struggle" (Fanon, 23).

Bibliography

Ahmed, Leila. The Discourse of the Veil. *Women and Gender in Islam*, 164. Yale University Press: New Haven, 1992.

Barraclough, Geoffrey. 1982. *The Times Concise Atlas of World History.* 138. Maplewood, NJ: Hammond Incorporated.

Blum, William. 2000. *Rogue state: A guide to the world's only superpower.* 138. Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press.

Bowen, Donna Lee. "North Africa: Early 20th Century to Present." *EWIC (Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures)*. Methodologies, Paradigms and Sources ed. Suad Joesph. Vol. 1. Brill, 2003. 208. Print.

Burke, Colleen. "Women and Militarism." *European Commission: Daphne Toolkit*. 1998. Web. <http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/daphnetoolkit/files/projects/1998_043/women_and_militarism_199_043.pdf>.

Clancy-Smith, Julia. "Colonialism: 18th to Early 20th Century." *EWIC (Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures)*. Methodologies, Paradigms and Sources ed. Suad Joesph. Vol. 1. Brill, 2003. 100-1, 111-2. Print.

Cherifati-Merabtine, Doria. Algeria at a crossroads: national liberation, Islamization, and women. *Gender and National Identity: Women and Politics in Muslim Societies*, ed. Valentine M. Moghdam. 47, 50-52. Helsinki: United Nations University, 1994.

Kuppinger, Petra. "Cities: Colonial Cities." *EWIC (Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures)*. Economics, Education, Mobility and Space ed. Suad Joesph. Vol. 4. Brill, 2007. 4. Print.

Davies, Sharyn Graham. "Sexualities: Scientific Discourses, Pre-Modern." *EWIC (Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures)*. Economics, Education, Mobility and Space ed. Suad Joesph. Vol. 3. Brill, 2006. 396-7. Print.

Djebar, Assia. 2005. *Children of the New World: A Novel of the Algerian War* (translated by Marjolijn de Jager). 5-7, 9, 11, 24, 29, 37, 39, 50-1, 55, 79-80, 99, 107, 113, 116, 120, 124-6, 149, 155, 172-3, 178, 188, 195, 197. New York: The Feminist Press.

Enloe, Cynthia. Nationalism and Masculinity. *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics.* 42, 44-46, 52, 56, 63. Los Angeles: University of California, 1990.

Fanon, Frantz. 2004. *The Wretched of the Earth* (new translation from the French by Richard Philcox). 23, 199, 233. New York: Grove Press.

Gluck, Sherna Berger. Shifting Sands: The Feminist-Nationalist connection in the Palestinian movement. *Feminist Nationalism*, ed. Lois West. 101, 113, 122. New York: Routledge, 2013.

Harman, Chris. 2008. *A People's History of the World: From the Stone Age to the New Millennium* (Fourth Edition). London: Verso, 557.

Hélie-Lucas, Marie-Aimeé, "Against Nationalism: the betrayal of Algerian women." *Trouble & Strife* 11.Summer (1987): 30-34.

Kauss, Peter R. Women and the Algerian Revolution. *The Persistence of Patriarchy: Class, Gender, and Ideology in Twentieth Century Algeria*. 75-79. New York: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1987.

Klein, Naomi. 2007. *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism.* New York: Picador, 49, 156.

Larzeg, Marnia. *The Eloquence of Silence: Algerian Women in Question*. 2-3, 51, 55-59, 62, 66-7. New York: Psychology Press, 1994.

Lilley, Kelsey. "A Policy of Violence: The Case of Algeria." *E-International Relations*. 2012. Web. <http://e-r.info/2012/09/12/a-policy-of-violence-the-case-of-algeria/>.

Lorgan, Patricia M.E. "French North Africa." *EWIC (Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures)*. Family, Law and Politics ed. Suad Joesph. Vol. 2. Brill, 2005. 69-70. Print.

Mehdid, Malika. En-gendering the Nation-State: Women, Patriarchy, and Politics in Algeria. *Women and the State: International Perspectives*, ed. Sharin M. Rai & Geraldine Lievesley. 78-81. London: Routledge, 1996.

Turshen, Meredith. "Algerian Women in the Liberation Struggle and the Civil War: from active participants to passive victims?" *Social Research.* 69.3 (2002): 889-892.

Wadowiec, Jane. "Muslim Algerian Women and the Rights of Man: Islam and Gendered Colonialism in French Algeria at the End of Empire." *French Historical Studies*. 36:4 (2013). 649.

White, Aaronette. "All the men are fighting from freedom, All women are mourning their men, but some of us carried guns: Fanon's Psychological Perspectives on War and African Combatants." *Signs*. 32:4 (2007). 2, 8. Also published as Working Paper No. 302/2006 in the Consortium of Gender, Security, and Human Rights in 2003.

Woddis, Jack. 1969. *Introduction to Neo-Colonialism: The New Imperialism in Asia, Africa & Latin America* (Second Printing). New York: International Publishers, 32, 42,

Yegenoglu, Meyda. *Colonial Fantasies: Toward a Feminist Reading of Orientalism*. 40, 62, 65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Yergin, Daniel. 1992. *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money & Power.* 526-7. New York: Simon & Schuster.